1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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There is little hunting and fishing as an occupation. Nets, snares, and traps are used in hunting, primarily to catch chevrotains, which are to be found in abundance near the boundary with the *desa* of Dauh Tukad. The Tĕngananese girls are very fond of the *dedes rase*, so that the young fellows, especially, concentrate on catching this musk-deer.

There is practically nothing done in the way of handicrafts (with the single exception of weaving) in Tĕnganan. I counted only twelve carpenters, two wood and stone workers, and one smith in the village. The smith comes from the village of Tunggak, and is bound to the *desa* by a permanent debt. The Tĕngananese smiths of earlier times have moved to the *pande* village of Bratan. The dwellings display little that is artistic; only a few temple gates have been given a certain amount of decoration by artists from other villages. Nowadays, however, there are several skilled wood carvers in the village.

The dwellings are to a very large extent covered with coconut leaf. The roofing is done by persons from other *desas*, who also provide the material. If a roof is to be covered with *alang-alang*, however, other members of the *desa* are asked to help. As was pointed out, the *bale buga* must have a roof either of coconut leaf or sugar-palm fibre, which latter is very expensive. Plaiting and the making of bricks and pottery are prohibited activities, though the women are allowed to glaze ceramics made elsewhere.

So-called Tĕngananese fabrics are popular throughout Bali and among all tourists. It is, however, not so well known that these fabrics are made only in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, and not, for example, in the nearby *desas* of Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad and Tĕnganan Pasĕdahan. Hence the Balinese themselves rightly call the fabrics *gĕringsing*, though Europeans always speak of Tĕngananese cloths.[13] It is frequently said that the reddish-brown colour which gives the fabrics such a warm glow beside the black and yellow was originally obtained with human blood. In Tĕnganan itself, however, this is emphatically denied. As far back as can be remembered the dye has been obtained from Nusa Pĕnida, and the

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462 [273] munists of Tenganan go to the plantation only to make tuak, beer from sugar palms.

On the way down the hill, I was allowed a glimpse of the sacred 778 temple of Tenganan, of which we had heard mysterious reports. It was a small enclosure under a great banyan tree surrounded by a low wall of uncut stones roughly piled up. Inside were a few mounds of the same stones, reminiscent of altars, and in one of them there was a larger stone with what appeared to be a natural [609] cavity. I could not go into the enclosure because no outsider is ever permitted to enter it. I-Tanggú could not divulge the purpose of such a primitive "temple" and could not even name the deities worshipped there, but he added mysteriously that there were three of them! It seems extraordinary that this pile of stones is the only sacred, "essential" place of worship for the Tenganans, who are expert carvers and fine artists.[8]

Just outside the village I had seen a regular Balinese-style 184 temple with fine roofs and elaborate carvings, but this, I-Tanggú 346 said with contempt, did not mean much to them and was more 778 for the use of their Balinese guests and coolies, perhaps as a concession to the official cult of the island, so that they would not be considered as savages, people without a "proper" temple.

[8] This extraordinary village must not, however, be taken as a typical Bali Aga [184] community. Tenganan was deliberately cut off from the natural development of the rest of Bali and remains today a unique, rabidly conservative, and strictly tribal community that seems to take pride in doing things "differently," even from the rest of the Bali Agas. Institutions that are the very essence of Balinese culture, such as the shadow-plays (*wayang kulit*), are unknown, while others are even forbidden. Many rites and festivals peculiar to Tenganan do not exist elsewhere.

Dr. E. V. Korn has made an exhaustive study of the Tenganan people (*De doorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*), but their religious concepts remain ob- [771] scure, perhaps even to the Tenganans themselves. Like the other Balinese they worship the Gunung Agung and rule their life by the eternal principle of orientation — high and low, right and left. They venerate shapeless stones (*batú menurun*), considered to be the fragments of the famous horse of Outjé Seraya, stones that are the symbols of "origin" of totemic groups that are sharply divided into "right" and "left." The people of Tenganan were influenced by distorted ideas from an early version of pre-Madjapahit Hinduism and have a vague notion of the Hindu Trinity, [177] headed, however, by Indra, generally a minor deity, who is to the Tenganans the same as Siwa-Iswara, the supreme god, "Lord of the Centre," with the kubu (home) of "Sanghyang" (Brahma) at the right and that of "Idjeng" (Wisnu) at the left. One of their lonely temples, or, rather, tabooed enclosures, is supposedly the reflection on this earth of the heavenly lake of Indra.

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Somewhere in the outskirts of the village are the public baths and the cemetery, a neglected field overgrown with weeds and decaying bamboo altars, with its temple of the Dead (c) and its mournful *kepuh* tree, a sad and eerie place. The bathing-place is generally a cool spot shaded by clusters of bamboo in the river that runs near the village, where all day long men and women bathe in the brown water in separate modest groups. Some villages have special bathing-places with fancy water-spouts and low walls of carved stone, with separate compartments for men and women. Tedjakula in North Bali is famous for its horse bath, a special compartment that is larger and even more elaborate than the baths for the people.

THE MARKET

Important towns have great utilitarian markets of cement and galvanized tin where shrewd Arabs and Chinese keep regular shops of cloth and imported knick-knacks, but the average desa holds market under the shadow of the *waringin* or under square shades of straw mats like umbrellas. A few people sell there every day; the " big " market takes place every third day of the religious calendar. There are " market associations " organized in groups of three desas that work together, holding market in rotation every day in each of the three villages. The women are the financiers that control the market; one seldom sees men in it, except in certain trades or to help carry such a load as a fat pig. Even the money-changers are women, who sit behind little tables filled with rolls of small change, *kepeng*, Chinese brass coins with a hole in the middle, worth a small fraction of a cent (about five to seven to a cent according to the current exchange). These coins are strung into rolls of two hundred, called *satak* (one string of twenty-five cents). Prices in the market vary according to the buyer; they are lowest to the villager in his home town, slightly higher for the Balinese of other villages, and considerably higher to foreigners. This is customary and understandable if one takes into consideration the communal spirit of the village

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474 575 [345] [423] halls, the *balé bandjar*, a club-house without special religious significance, with its drum-tower to call to meetings. The *balé bandjar* is provided with a kitchen and with all sorts of cooking-implements: pots and pans, chopping-blocks, knives, etc., which [422] are lent to members who require them. The *bandjars* also own the village orchestras and the dancing-properties — costumes, masks, and head-dresses — which are stored in a *gedong*, a brick building where they are safe from theft or fire.

517 575 The men spend most of their spare time in the *balé bandjar*, gossiping, trying out their fighting cocks, watching a rehearsal of a play or of the orchestra, or just sitting. If the *bandjar* is prosperous, it takes great pride in giving elaborate banquets with music and entertainment. These may happen at the great national festivals, at the anniversary of their little *bandjar* temple, or at the inauguration of a new roof, a new orchestra or dancing-group. But also the private festivals of the members become *bandjar* affairs, and *bandjars* like Belaluan, where we lived, celebrated 574 252 feasts with staggering frequency. Only the men may prepare banquet food, and often we were awakened in the middle of the 462 night by the *kulkuls* calling them to kill the turtles and the pigs 575 [202] for a feast. Banquet food takes long to prepare and the animals have to be slaughtered in the middle of the night to ensure the freshness of the meat and of the sauces in the difficult climate of Bali. After two in the morning before a feast everybody was busy; the men chopping meat, cooking, scraping coconuts, building sheds and altars; the women carrying water, making offerings, cutting out ornaments of palm-leaf or wrapping individual packages of *sirih* and betel for the guests.

574 517 By noon the banquet took place, the men sitting in the *balé bandjar* in two long rows facing each other with their individual mountains of rice, pig, and turtle meats served in large squares of banana leaf, drinking *tuak* and making loud jokes. When the [515] meal was over, *kendis* of water were passed so that the guests [264] could wash their hands and mouths. The rest of the day and 517

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243 527 When the grain is ripe, the *subak* members prepare for the *ng'usaba nini*, the great harvest festival. Cockfights are held again in the rice temple and the following day is declared *nyepi* for ricefields: a day of absolute stillness, requiring the suspension of all activity, when no one may enter a field under penalty of a fine. Two days before cutting the rice, small offerings are made to the irrigation inlet, and boughs of the *dapdap* tree, decorated with little faces of palm-leaf, are stuck at the four corners of the field to keep evil influences away. The next step is the making [78?] of the Rice Mother (*nini pantun*), two sheaves of rice, one male, the other female, the Rice Husband and Wife.[2] The two sheaves are fastened together and tied to a branch, which is stuck in the ground near the main irrigation inlet. Then the cutting of the rice may proceed.

[462] [292] In Bali only men plant and attend to the rice, but women and even children help with the harvest. Everybody wears coats and great sun-hats of bamboo for protection against the burning rays of the sun. The line of reapers moves like a living row of enormous mushrooms, cutting the rice with small iron blades set in wooden frames, just large enough to be hidden in the palm of the hand. The stalks are cut one by one and tied later into huge bunches. When all the rice is cut, the Rice Mothers of the [292] various *sawa*-owners are dressed in a skirt of new white cloth held at the middle of the sheaf by a rope of white yarn, a small apron (*lamak*), and a silk scarf. The head-dress is represented by the ends of the stalks, ornamented with flowers and cut-out palm-leaf in the form of a fan, often with a human face added, drawn on a heart-shaped piece of palm.

[184] [2] The male is larger and consists of 108 stalks, while the female has only 54 stalks. The people of Badung agree that the sheaves are male and female, but in Ubud, Gianyar, they claim it is only female. They also make two sheaves, one larger than the other, but they are confused when pressed to explain the reason for the two sheaves. They call the *nini pantun* also by the names of *dewa padi* or *dewi istri*, "rice deity" or "divine wife." *Nini pantun* means simply "rice mother." Perhaps the association of feminine names and ideas has obscured the bisexual significance of the two sheaves. Van Eck says that the Rice Husband and Wife are ceremoniously wedded in the granary: "Increase ye and multiply without ceasing." I was told in Gianyar that the rice stalks used to make the mother should be stolen from various ricefields, but in Badung they appeared shocked at this idea.

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leaf, bristling with flowers and ferns. The parade stopped at the village temple, where the decorated sheaves were blessed by the temple guardian. This ceremony was called *mendak nini*, "to bring back the Mother." Each family took its Rice Mother to its own granary, which was also decorated with *penyors* and *lamaks* to receive it. The Rice Mothers were deposited on cushions on special wooden thrones inside the granaries, and I was told that they would remain there until eaten by rats. Not even famine could justify eating the rice of the *nini*; whoever ate the Rice Mother would be considered as low as a dog. After the ceremony the cut rice was brought home to be stored in the granary until needed.

The rice granaries (called according to size and shape *lumbung*, *glebeg*, *djinan*, *klumpu*, and *klimking* in the order of their importance) are a good indication of the economic status of a family. They are tall buildings with steep, high roofs of thatch resembling the Melanesian yam houses in shape. A granary is supported by four wooden pillars with wide circular capitals to prevent rats from climbing up. Custom demands respectful handling of rice. It must be fetched in silence and only in the daytime. A person who climbs into a granary should be in a normal state of physical and spiritual health and may not chew betel-nut.

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR

In Bali one may see a woman laying bricks or breaking stones to pave a road, or find men in the market in Den Pasar sitting at their sewing-machines making blouses for women, but it would be unthinkable for a woman to paint a picture or to climb a coconut tree; a man would be disgraced if seen performing work that is the perquisite of women.

The labour allotted to each sex is sharply defined; all heavy work requiring manly attributes — agriculture, building in wood or thatch, the care of cattle — as well as most of the trades and crafts, such as carpentry, wood- and stone-carving, painting, writ-

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462 ing, playing musical instruments, is the work of men. Women own, raise, and sell chickens and pigs, but only men care for cows, buffaloes, and ducks. Since men dislike working for wages, the women of the lower classes are obliged to engage as coolies transporting building-materials, carrying coconuts to sell to the Chinese for making copra, delivering charcoal, or obtaining broken coral from the beach to make lime. Although only men build Balinese houses, women are the house-painters and work as masons in constructions of Western style.

Domestic duties such as fetching water for the kitchen, threshing rice, making flour, weaving, and making domestic offerings are performed by women, but men take an equal interest in the [855] care of children and are proud to carry their sons everywhere. While the daily food is cooked by women, only men may prepare the pork and turtle dishes for banquets, and rice may be cooked by both. When at harvest-time both sexes help cut the rice and [482] carry it home, every woman holds one of the heavy sheaves on her head, and the men carry two, one on each end of a pole swung across the shoulders. It is a rule that a woman carries only on her head and a man on his shoulders, except for offerings and holy objects, which must be carried on the head.

857 462 Children assist their parents in the daily work, the boys taking care of the ducks and cows and weeding the ricefields; or, if their father is a craftsman, they become his apprentices. Little girls help their mothers to carry loads, to cook, to weave, or sell in the market. The activity of the women seems to increase with age; by 887 far the most active person in our household was Gusti's aunt, a proud old woman over sixty. Women of the common class carry [565] even greater loads than the young, but she, being a *Pregusti*, could not carry loads. Her hands, however, were never still and she was reputed the best maker of offerings in the *bandjar*. Endowed with a knowledge acquired only by age, elderly women are essential to the religious festivals and many act as priestesses.

Although old men are mainly concerned with sitting in the *balé bandjar* discussing literature, chewing *sirih*, and drinking

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tuak, they also have duties to perform: they are the leading members of the village association, the priests, witch-doctors, story-tellers, and of course the teachers of writing, poetry, and the arts. Old men are often duck-shepherds, guiding the flocks of ducks to the fields and back.

At one time the dramatic arts were restricted to the men, although older women danced in religious ceremonies. But today girls have successfully invaded the theatrical field. In general the condition of Balinese women is better than in other Eastern countries. A woman has definite rights; the income she derives from the sale of her pigs, her weaving, or the garden produce she sells in the market is her own, and she may dispose of her belongings without the knowledge of her husband. Most women are not only economically independent, but contribute to the expenses of the household. A woman's debts are her own and her husband is not liable for them. The women keep the finances of the family and control the markets.

THE ECONOMIC ORDER

With agriculture as the main occupation of the people and the basis of wealth, the question of the ownership of land is of great importance. Bali presents the amazing spectacle of a land where the deeply rooted agrarian communalism of the people has continued to exist side by side with the feudalism of the noble landlords. We have seen that the true Balinese village is an independent economic and social unit, ruled by a council of villagers with voting power, equal rights for all, and ownership of land restricted by village regulations. The lands are communally cultivated to maintain the village festivals, and even the ground on which the houses stand is village property that can be reclaimed if the tenant abuses his privileges. Since the land and its products belong to the ancestral gods, the idea of absolute property is not firmly rooted among the Balinese. In our household nobody objected when neighbours came and cut flowers and banana leaves without permission.

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264 512 of banana leaf over them. When finished, the leaf dishes were simply thrown to the pigs; no dishes were left to wash. A *kendih* of water was passed around after the meal, each drinking in turn and at a distance from it, letting a continuous jet of water fall into the open mouth, the lips never touching the spout. (When we tried to drink like the Balinese we succeeded only in choking or drenching ourselves.) The mouth and fingers were rinsed, and after emitting a loud belch of satisfaction the men took a nap or went to the *balé bandjar* to chat before resuming work.

[462] [515] Generally the women ate after the men were finished, then fed the pigs, and spent the rest of the afternoon weaving, threshing rice, or simply delousing each other, a great social pastime.

286 177 439 386 For a while it seemed as if the art of hand weaving would be wrecked by the ever increasing importation of foreign cloth. Chinese silk thread was hard to obtain, aniline dyes gave brighter hues and were infinitely easier to handle than the old vegetable dyes, and Japanese rayon for a few cents a yard looked almost like real silk. In later years, however, the affluence of tourists has increased the market for Balinese handicrafts and many women derive an income from selling garish brocades. On our second visit the women of our household took to weaving and every afternoon the characteristic rhythmic sounds of many looms came from all directions.

286 On the Balinese loom (*prabot tennun*) the warp is stretched between a heavy wooden structure (*tjetjaga* and *pendalan*) and a sort of yoke (*épor*) shaped like a Cupid's bow held by the woman's back. After the bamboo spindle (*tunda*) has gone through the warp, the weave is tightened with a long ruler (*belida*) of polished hard wood that slides over a bamboo drum (*pengrorogan*), while the threads are separated with a bamboo tube (*bungbunggan*) provided with little bells that jingle at every move. Thus the work is made easier by the rhythmical sequence of three sounds: the tinkling of the bells, the sound of the hollow bamboo as it is struck by the ruler, and the energetic double knock to tighten the weave. Weaving is the main

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ons, peanuts, and so forth, there are others unknown among us, 262
such as the delicious breadfruit (*timbul*), jackfruit (*nangka*), acacia leaves (*twi*), greens (*kangkung*), edible ferns (*pakú*), and extraordinary fruits such as *salak*, a pear-shaped fruit that grows on a palm, tastes like pineapple, and is covered by the most perfect imitation snakeskin; the delicate *djambú*, fragrant *wani*, the *rambutan* (a large sort of grape inside of a hairy transparent pink skin), the famous mangosteen (*manggis*) (for which a prize was offered by Queen Victoria to anyone who found the way to bring the fruit in good condition to England), and the stinking durien (*duren* in Bali). A good deal has been written both in favour of and against this spiky sort of custard apple, whose putrid smell has been compared with every decaying or evil-smelling thing from goats to rancid butter. The meat of the durien is a creamy custard, the undefinable flavour and texture of which develops into a passion among those used to eating it. Most Europeans, however, object to its offensive smell to such a degree that they forbid their servants to bring durien within a distance of their house. The fruits are eaten raw and the vegetables are boiled [252]
or fried after being washed carefully in a special bowl. The Balinese peel vegetables away and not towards themselves, as is done in the West. Although the Balinese are not fond of sweets, they make a delicious dessert of coconut cream with cinnamon, bananas, or breadfruit steamed in packages of banana leaf.

We have seen that the women are reduced to the routine of 252
cooking the everyday meal, but when it comes to preparing ban- [462]
quet food, it is the men, as is universally the case, who are the great chefs and who alone can prepare the festival dishes of roast suckling pig (*bé guling*) and sea-turtle (*penyú*), the cooking of which requires the art of famous specialists. Few *bandjars* enjoyed as great a reputation for fine cooking as Belaluan; there the great banquet dishes were prepared most often because the *bandjar* was prosperous, and there lived famous cooks who were always in great demand to officiate at feasts. People spoke with

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young Brahmanas from Mas who turn out intricate statues of hard wood or with equal ability paint a picture, design a temple gate, or act and dance.

Painting, sculpture, and playing on musical instruments are arts by tradition reserved to the men, but almost any woman can weave beautiful stuffs and it is curious that the most intriguing textiles, those in which the dyeing and weaving process is so complicated that years of labour are required to complete a scarf, are made by the women of Tenganan, an ancient village of six hundred souls who are so conservative that they will not maintain connections with the rest of Bali and who punish with exile whoever dares to marry outside the village.

The main artistic activity of the women goes into the making of beautiful offerings for the gods. These are intricate structures of cut-out palm-leaf, or great pyramids of fruit, flowers, cakes, and even roast chickens, arranged with splendid taste, masterpieces of composition in which the relative form of the elements employed, their texture and colour are taken into consideration. I have seen monuments, seven feet in height, made entirely of roasted pig's meat on skewers, decorated into shapes cut out of the waxy fat of the pig and surmounted with banners and little umbrellas of the lacy stomach tissues, the whole relieved by the vivid vermilion of chili-peppers. Although women of all ages have always taken part in the ritual offering dances, in olden times only little girls became dancers and actresses; but today beautiful girls take part in theatrical performances, playing the parts of princesses formerly performed exclusively by female impersonators.

The effervescence of artistic activity and the highly developed æsthetic sense of the population can perhaps be explained by a natural urge to express themselves, combined with the important factor of leisure resulting from well-organized agricultural cooperatism. However, the most important element for the development of a popular culture, with primitive as well as refined characteristics, was perhaps the fact that the Balinese did not

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out and the roads empty of people, when behind their barred gates the people go through a day of quietness intended to convey to whatever malevolent forces may lurk without that the village is deserted and that no one is at home.

If a death or other unfortunate event has rendered the village unclean when the appointed day of a festival falls due, the festival is passed over, and the gods are not invited to come down until the appointed day comes around again 210 days later. However, at any time when the village or the individual is not in a state of uncleanness, it is possible to enter the temple to address special prayers and to offer special offerings. Although the temple priest, the *pemangkoe*, may be asked to dedicate such offerings, his services are not absolutely necessary, and the prayers and offerings may be given directly to the gods by the individual. The gods are considered in some sense present in their temples, or at least not too far away for communication to be established with them, although they are not at the moment actually inhabiting their shrines.

The *odalan* or temple festival is an occasion on which the people of the village, having invited the gods to this temporary residence for a visit of three days' duration, prepare the house for them and offer them a religious service which symbolizes both refreshment and entertainment. To the villagers themselves it is a true festival, a celebration, a religious holiday. For three days before the event the men and women of each household, divided into groups, make preparations. If, for example, the women are called to the temple during the morning hours to sit weaving from fresh palm-leaf the thousands of offering containers in different shapes and sizes, the men are allowed to remain at home. Then the wooden slit-gong sounds, and from every side the men assemble, to put up temporary frames and altars to receive the offerings, to erect the decorative poles (*penjors*) of bamboo decked with palm-leaf, and to carry out, according to their skill, any repairs to the roofs of the pavilions or to the walls of the courts, of which the temple may have stood in need for many months. While the men work, the women are free to return to their households.

Each family, or better, household-unit, has allotted to it an equal share in the contributions necessary for the offerings: thus, two cocoanuts, a measure and a half of rice, three eggs, and about 15 cents in cash[3] may be the contribution levied on each of 500 households. If a

[3] These data were collected during the 1930s, when, under the Dutch Administration, the currency in use was the *ringgit*, a silver coin of about the size and value of an American silver dollar, and worth two and one-half *roepiah*, equivalent to a Dutch florin. The *roepiah* again was subdivided into 25 cent and 10 cent pieces, called *s'talen* (or *s'tali*) and *a-ketip* respectively. Chinese cash were current at about 170 to 185 to the "string," exchanged for the Dutch 25 cent piece. *Tali*

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great extent, been forgotten. Only on the symbolic level do they remain true and valid for the culture which practices them; they are the ways through which the underlying ethos of the culture is expressed, through which it lives and continues to perpetuate itself.

Every married pair may constitute a household, a ***koeren***, the unit of the village or ward (***bandjar***). Usually, in a household of a number of children, one of the sons remains in the paternal house while the others move out and set up establishments of their own as they come to maturity and marry. The paternal house passes to the son who remains at home; as the old man reaches the age of superannuation it is this son who represents the household at the village meetings and who does the work apportioned by the village, the temple, the irrigation unit (*soebak*), or the higher authority of the district official government. It is characteristic of the Balinese system that it is the youngest son, not the eldest, who remains at home and inherits the father's house.

Age and Sex Typing. The Balinese have their own special view of the distinction between the sexes and of the differences or lack of differences between them at different times in the cycle of life. The most important point is the complementariness of the sexes, male and female together making up an entity, completing each other. Like the Chinese *yin* and *yang*, the theme male and female (*loeh moewani*) is endlessly repeated and recurrent in every context from the description of the gods to the terms for a carpenter's joining. But, beside this complementariness, there are areas where the distinction between the sexes seems quite irrelevant, the two sexes are interchangeable. Thus, though it is a patrilineal society, and a man must have a son to carry on his ancestral line, if he has no son, a daughter will do. The daughter then substitutes for the son. Various sorts of priestly functions may be carried out by women as well as by men; diviners, healers of one sort or another, godly spokesmen, all these are as likely to be male as female—the women have no monopoly here over hysterical manifestations. Little child dancers may be boys, or girls, or boys dressed as girls, or girls dressed as boys. There is a happy indeterminacy in all of these roles. In the very young, and in the very old, the difference in sex is of no consequence.

Only for purposes of mating is it felt necessary to keep the two sexes distinct. During the years of young courtship there is rather more emphasis on the difference between male and female. There are divisions of labor, between men's work and women's work, which serve to emphasize the difference as the skills are being acquired, but, once a young man and a young girl are married, they form a unit, a "household" (***koeren***) in which either one may act for the pair. They are like partners, of whom either one can

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represent the firm. For the temple, certain offerings are customarily prepared by men, others by women. But the work is shared out according to households; and if during the preparatory days the man is busy working in the rice fields, his wife may represent his household at the temple, or if she is busy at home, he may go in her stead. All the working of the village life is built up out of these household units, and it is for this reason almost unthinkable to remain unmarried. Bachelors and old maids are practically unknown.

When a child is born no special point is made as to whether it is a male or a female. It is like a little god, newly come from the heaven of the gods, perhaps an ancestor returned to earth. At three months it is taken for the first time to the temple to make its obeisance at the shrine of the Recorder of Births. From this time until the time of its losing its first teeth (*meketoes*), the child has a status of maximum innocence and purity; it is the nearest thing to a god which man may know. It is made much of and adored by both parents, whether it be male or female. After the age of six, the difference in occupation begins to effect a certain typing according to sex which was not evident up to that time. Little boys do herding of ducks and cattle in the fields, while little girls carry water and help their mothers in the household tasks.

When they begin to wear clothes, the *kamben* worn by boys and girls is almost identical, and, even among adult men and women, the difference between men's dress and women's dress is only a slight difference in the tying of the cloth or in the length to which it falls below the knee. Up until the last generation both men and women had long hair, and even today most priests still wear their hair long. In physical type, too, there is little difference between males and females. Both are slender and have relatively wide shoulders and narrow hips, a strong straight back, erect carriage, smooth muscles, and a smooth skin practically without body hair. The men have no beard, and their features do not differ markedly from the women's. It is not at all unusual to mistake a man for a woman, or a woman for a man, even at a few paces' distance.

This merging and indeterminacy of the sexes is to some extent offset by certain rules of behavior. For example, a man sits crosslegged, while a woman sits with both legs to one side. Or a man climbs coconut trees, a woman weaves. Thus, if it is impossible to tell whether a figure is male or female by looking at it, one may be able to tell by the way it is sitting or by what it is doing. And when we find, as we occasionally do, individuals who wish to be of the opposite sex, it is precisely by doing such things as climbing coconut trees or weaving that they express this wish.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

the Balinese mother smiles upon her son when she has taught him to say and feel "*Sing bani*," when she has taught him fear.

That this tie up between the mother and fear exists in Bali there can be no doubt. But that the Rangda should be construed as Mother Figure representative of the total feeling toward the mother, and that this substitution should be carried over into adulthood until the young man looks forward to marrying a girl who will turn into a witch, "marry a woman whose attitude toward human relations will be exactly that of his own mother,"[35] is a point of view with which this writer does not agree. Rangda serves only as a representation of the fear aspect of the Mother Figure. There is a split in the feeling toward the mother, the destructive, witchlike, devouring, and deathly side of her represented in the Rangda, which Mead and Bateson have stressed, and the loving, beautiful, food-giving aspect of the living woman.

Balinese women are famous the world over for their beauty, their grace, and their graciousness as people, and of this quality the women themselves do not seem unaware. The men, equally handsome and graceful, are appreciative of the gracious quality of the female and remark upon a pretty face, a beautiful breast, with connoisseurship such as they apply to the arts. Women who bear children are highly valued, and the importance of having issue is in this culture equal for the male and the female. Women cook the daily rice, which is holy. The making of the little rice goddess, Dewi Sri, at each harvest time from the first cut sheaf is apparently an Old Indonesian rite, representative of both the food giving and fertility aspects of the female. At New Year's time, before each house is hung a *lamak*, a palm leaf panel with cut out designs in highly stylized Old Indonesian patterns. On each panel, executed in a distinctive manner in each village, is a stylized tree, probably a male symbol, and a *tjili*, a lovely slender lady with triangular body and a circular headdress. This *tjili* figure has been identified with Dewi Sri, with the *dedari* (*widadari*, Sanskrit *vidya-dhari*), heavenly nymphs, in whose name the little girl trance dancers (*sang hyang dedari*) are invoked. A myriad of different forms among the offerings and the receptacles for the soul in post-mortuary ceremonies recall this graceful, somewhat infantile female figure. It seems that we are dealing here with a prototype of the feminine spirit figure from Old Indonesian times, brought down to us more or less intact in the *tjili* patterns and carried over, with necessary modifications, into the Hinduistic death ritual where needed. Covarrubias[36]

[35] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 36.
[36] Covarrubias, 1937, pp. 172-75, 177, 179 and 181.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

On the twelfth day after the birth of the twins the ceremony *nyambutin* was celebrated in the *kubu*. After *nyambutin* in Sukawanã the usual child and his parents are sufficiently purified to be allowed to enter the temples. Although for the family of I Lèwèr there still remained thirty days of exile, during which they might not even enter the village, much less the temples, still these small offerings had to be made according to custom.

During the last days the men of the village were busy at the *kubu* cutting trees into blocks for the chopping of the meat offerings, weaving rough trays of split bamboo, preparing skewers and sharpening knives for the feast. It is a part of the custom that the villagers must not only contribute to the offerings but lend their indispensable aid in the making of them, for it is an array such as no single family could prepare alone. In return they are treated to a feast at the expense of the father of the twins. In the houses of I Lèwèr's erstwhile neighbors the materials were collected. Each man sent his share, according to his means. If a rich man should send a poor contribution, he would be too ashamed! The women cooked the rice and formed it into little cones, and into cakes of varied shapes and colors, and of sugar and riceflour they made still other dainties for the gods and for the demons. They wove plates of palm-leaf, and decorative fanshaped, circular, and trailing *sampéans* as top-pieces for the offerings, all of the young yellow leaf cut with a knife in strong simple design. The part of the men is the killing and preparation of the animal offerings. On the day before the ceremony they killed the water-buffalo, skinned it, and cut and cooked the meat in various ways. The next morning the calf, pig, goat, goose, ducks, chickens, and the three-colored dog ('red', black and white) were killed and made ready. At eleven o'clock in the morning I Lèwèr's neighbors were still busy finishing the last dozens of palm-leaf decorations necessary for the offerings. When all was done the splendid array was laid out upon the bare ground where I Lèwèr's house had stood, and they were enough to completely

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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superior. It would seem that a great deal of the "carefulness" in the manner of the Balinese springs from his habit of adjusting his position according to the laws of his cosmology and his social group. The other great factor is the habitual avoidance of any impulsive movement which could shock or otherwise momentarily disturb the feeling of well-being in the body.

The individual Balinese moves slowly, with deliberation. Westerners, seeing for the first time films representing the Balinese at their daily tasks, are immediately struck by the slow tempo of their actions. If a man seated in one pavilion of his house-court suddenly wishes to show something which is in another pavilion, he will rise to his feet and saunter across the intervening space, quite as if he were going for a casual stroll. He will never hurry, as we would, eager to grasp the object which has come to mind. There is plenty of time, and to hurry would be unusual, unnecessary, and stupid—a waste of energy. Walking along the roads, each individual progresses with an even, measured step. The custom is to walk in single file, probably because the trails are narrow, and even today when the gravel covered motor roads are used for long distance walking, there is only a narrow track at the side which is comfortable to bare feet. Rarely does one individual walking in the single file pass another, for all go at the same rhythmic pace. This pace seems to be kept over long distances as well as short, and is hardly influenced when the walker carries a medium load (about forty pounds). Women carry such a load with facility, balanced on their heads. Men usually carry much heavier weights, divided in two parcels, one of which is slung at either end of a bamboo pole balanced on the shoulder. Invariably when the load is heavy (a hundred pounds or so) the man with the shoulder bar proceeds at a short run, almost a trot, and he keeps up this pace without ever slowing down to a walk. The idea is not to get there more quickly; but the motion of the trot vibrates the pliant shoulder-bar, so that the weights at either end swing up and down, thus relieving the pressure on the shoulder. This pace however has become customary to people heavily laden, and a woman bearing on her head one of the large offerings of rice, fruit, and cakes (often a cone four or five feet high) will proceed with the same accelerated steps that the men use under their heavy shoulder-bars.

A test of the evenness of the habitual pace, kept up over long distances, came on the occasion of an annual ceremony at a temple on the southernmost shore. A Balinese whose house stood next to

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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mine visited the temple on that day, accompanied by his two wives and two children, approximately eight and ten years old. All carried offerings and supplies of food and betel for the journey, but no member of the little group could be said to be heavily laden. They started "in the hour before dawn," which would be about five o'clock in the morning. When I arrived at the temple by motor they were seated outside taking their meal, having already made their prayers and presented their offerings. Shortly afterward they must have started homeward, for I passed them on my return, proceeding at an even steady pace along the road. At half-past three in the afternoon they reached home, apparently not the least exhausted by their walk of over fifty miles, as registered on the speedometer of my car. Even if one assumes that they spent only half-an-hour at the temple, they covered the fifty miles in ten hours, averaging certainly no less than five miles an hour. The road led up and down over several steep hills, and at least half of the way through arid fields, with no tree to give shade. This family, whose expedition I was able to time, was only one of hundreds visiting the temple on that day, and their excursion was in no sense unusual.

Physical Exertion and Well-Being

A great part of the land lying between the high mountain district and the shore is formed in longitudinal ridges which run parallel to each other, and no great distance apart. Between these ridges are the steep-walled ravines, where the rivers flow, and where are found most of the drinking and bathing springs. Villages are apt to be placed on the high ground, so that in inter-village traffic, walkers going North and South follow an easy up or down grade along the top of the ridge. But a person travelling East and West finds many a steep climb and precipitous descent along his path. Every member of the family is accustomed to go down at least once a day to the river or the bathing-place for his bath, and many must climb up and down several times in a day—the women and girls carrying water for household needs, the men going to and fro in their work in the steeply terraced rice-fields, the small boys escorting their special charges, the ducks and the water buffalo, down from the dry ground for their daily immersion. Mothers carry babies on their hips, at the same time balancing a forty-pound jar of water on their heads, yet never do they waver in their erect posture nor vary their slow even pace on the steep and often slippery incline. Little girls of five

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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857 of this pain-word seems to satisfy the oppressor, who desists. I
201 never witnessed nor heard of a case where one small boy "beat up"
578 another. Certainly the hierarchy of ages recognized in any family group tends to discourage fighting, for every child knows that he is
561 allowed to "speak down to," scold, and order about his younger
857 brothers and cousins, just as he himself is spoken down to and ordered about by brothers and all relatives older than he. The system works smoothly, for if one is humiliated by an elder, one may take out one's venom on a younger member of the familiar group. The accumulation of ill-humor does not fall too heavily upon the youngest child, for he can always take refuge behind the protective skirts of the mother, who is older, and therefore in authority, over his oppressor. So are the scales balanced.

562 Very small girls are sometimes seen in the company of the boys
857 who play in the streets. But by the time the girls reach the age of responsibility—seven or eight—they are more apt to remain in the housecourt with the mother, taking a part in her work. Or if they
[482] are seen along the road, they carry on their hip a younger child en-
[855] trusted to their care.[4] These diminutive nursemaids saunter up and down, or stand watching the play of the boys, prevented from joining in the activity by the responsibility, and the actual weight of their charges. Girls do not play games, for gambling is a man's
[524] occupation. Neither can they share in one of the boys' favorite di-
[533] versions, that of drumming away for hours on the instruments of the village orchestra, which are generally left in an open pavilion accessible to the children. This is another occupation which belongs to the men. The girls stand by watching, and do not think of trying
[462] their hand at it, although they are not actually forbidden to do so. I have known one or two girls, dancers, who had developed quite a proficiency as musicians, but their cases were exceptional. In the same way girls are not expected to paint and draw. When I sent
53 out a call to a number of villages for the drawings of children from
562 four to ten years, and distributed materials sufficient for all, not a
857 single girl sent in a drawing, nor would the little girls of my own village attempt any drawings even under repeated encouragement. Yet these same girls are learning from their mothers the complicated
[868] arts of making offerings, cutting designs from palm-leaf, and weaving.

[854] [4] Boys also carry babies, without shame, in imitation of their fathers who habitually dandle the small children.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

at the crossroads, the graveyard; and only occasionally a pilgrimage to one of the temples of mountain-gods, sea-, lake-, and sacred spring-gods; proper and suitable celebration, with offerings and performances according to his means, of births, birthdays, tooth-filings, weddings, deaths, cremations, etc., in the family. As a rule it is only when some difficulty arises in the carrying out of the ordinary prescribed rites that the djabă turns to the Hindu high-priest, the Pedanda, for advice, and still more rarely, for his offices.

It has occurred to me that a study of one such ordinary Balinese—one of the 900,000 djabă—in his family relations, might be of value, not to lay down any rules, but simply as an illustration of certain common phenomena in the mores.

I have chosen, therefore, an ordinary family, in an ordinary village, lying halfway between the modern town, where the old customs are perforce breaking down, and the region of the old-style Bali-Agă villages, which in their isolation have preserved an order which is today more of a curiosity in Bali, not characteristic of the country as a whole. And so, although it must not be concluded that what has happened in this family is what necessarily would happen in any Balinese family, still the procedures may be taken as fairly typical—if one remembers that variations are great from village to village, and that the customs of the high-caste Balinese, as well as those of the Bali-Agă villages are not represented in the general picture.

A BALINESE FAMILY

Rendah is the head of his household, and therefore a pengajă, member of the village council. He owns his own pekarangan, a walled courtyard within the village limits, enclosing the shrines of his household gods, the living quarters of his immediate family, and the place of the pigs and fowls. He owns also a sufficient portion of the irrigated rice-fields surrounding the village for the maintenance of his family. The fields are tilled by himself, his brothers, and their sons when they are old enough. All the old people and the dependent women and children get enough to eat. If the crop is good, and there is rice left over, it may be sold in the market. The women cook and weave cloth (kamben) for the family, and carry up fresh water from the spring, night and morning. The small girls of five or six begin to help their mothers and aunts at this task, balancing a coconut-shell full of water on their erect heads. The little boys of the same age take charge of the ducks and the water-buffalo, driving them out into the inundated rice-fields at sunrise, driving them back to their shelters near the house-court, at dusk.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

Group II (41–80) small cult objects of earthenware, and miniature replicas of offerings which are also made in dough or from palm leaf.

Only the first category, the agricultural implements and domestic utensils are listed in the religious manuals. I consider that the custom of making these objects must consequently be a very ancient tradition. There is no reference in the religious manuals to the items in the second group, just as there is no mention of the performance of the *sayang lĕmah*. In the manuscript with the most extensive directives for the *pamangku* [17] several of the *ièh-ièh pàdudusan* are listed, and it appears from the text that these were also used as offerings on the occasion of the erecting of a new building. The items listed in this manuscript are

1 *tinggala* plough.
2 *lampĭh* harrow.
3 *nga* plough-yoke.

These three items, which may be made from white *manduri* wood, are the implements for work performed by the man. However, implements for hunting, fishing, etc. are not referred t.

The items associated with the work of the woman are

4 *ilir* fan, for fanning the cooking fire identical with the usual *kipas* (not shown in the illustrations).
5 *sĕpit* fire-tongs.
6 *kukusan* basket in which the rice is steamed.
7 *sok suda-mala* basket 'cleansed of impurity'.
8 *sĭmprong* pipe for blowing on the cooking fire.
9 *sidi* sieve.
10 *tikĭh* mat.
11 *ngyu* winnow.
12 *lesung* hollowed-out section of a tree trunk for threshing rice.
13 *lubu* rice pounder, used with the *lesung*.
14 *kĭtung* hollowed-out round block of wood for threshing rice.
15 *yantra* spinning wheel.
16 *pami(s)pisan* instrument for separating the seeds from raw cotton.

In the manuscript it is specified that these items are to be 'of small dimensions, and made from *dapdap* wood'.

In addition to these, the following items were cited to me by an informant, a Balinese woman of the Brahman caste.

17 *undar* thread-winder.
18 *pangayinan* warp-frame.

[17] *Kusuma Dèwa*, K (manuscript from the Kirtya Liefrinck van der Tuuk *lontar* library in Singaradja) No. 1804, f. 49b.

[For illustrations of these implements, see category 116, pp. 59-60 -- Analyst]